

Special In This Issue—
Race and Reason Day In Mississippil
Full Text Of Carleton Putnam's Address

the CITIZEN

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

NOVEMBER 1961

PRICE: ONE DOLLAR

The Turning Point

This is perhaps the most significant and the most important publication ever to bear the imprint of the Citizens' Council movement.

We urge you to give this magazine the time and attention it deserves.

This issue, greatly expanded in size, is devoted in its entirety to a comprehensive report on "Race And Reason Day In Mississippi." It is a bonus to regular subscribers.

Every word of every article in this issue is exclusive. Every word of every article appears here in print for the first time. You will find this information nowhere else. We have endeavored to present it in attractive and readable form, with the hope that you will study every article carefully, and that you will save this copy for future reference.

Particularly we commend to you the full text of the magnificent address delivered by Carleton Putnam, noted author of *Race and Reason*. Mr. Putnam has put his finger on what many believe to be the major shortcoming in previous statements of the Southern position on race. He has offered a positive plan to fill this need. Mr. Putnam

is a Northerner — he knows the Northern mind. The South can ill afford to let his advice go unheeded.

We sincerely believe that Carleton Putnam's address in Jackson can mark the turning point in the South's struggle to preserve the integrity of the white race.

Indeed, it is time to reach a turning point—time for the South to take the initiative, and to stop fighting a purely defensive rearguard action. Carleton Putnam has shown us the way; now, we must show the nation!

You can help by sending copies of this issue to your friends and relatives, and to acquaintances and business associates in the North. Full details on how to order additional copies appear elsewhere in these pages. This is an excellent opportunity for every reader to take an active part in telling and selling the South's story.

Your support has brought us to the turning point—and your continued support will bring us the victory! Your messages of encouragement are most gratifying. We are moving forward—and we will win!

the CITIZEN

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

Editor ... W. J. Simmons
Managing Editor ... Richard D. Morphew
Business Manager ... Louis W. Hollis
(Editorial Board listed on page 46)

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Cover — "Mistress of the Mansion," photographed in historic Natchez by William A. Bacon, APSA, ARPS.

Mississippi Executive Department Jackson

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, a significant and valuable new book entitled "Race and Reason" meets a long-recognized need in improving communications between patriotic Americans, informing responsible Northern citizens of the viewpoint on race relations held by loyal Southerners, and the reasons therefor; and

WHEREAS, in the few short months since its publication, "Race and Reason" has made an important contribution towards creating in the North an understanding of the South's problems, attitudes and actions in the matter of race relations, and has brought together in authentic form the pertinent facts in a manner which Southerners have found most helpful; and

WHEREAS, "Race and Reason" is achieving mounting popularity and recognition throughout our Nation; and

WHEREAS, the eminent author of "Race and Reason", Mr. Carleton Putnam, is visiting Mississippi to address a banquet; and

WHEREAS, the people of Mississippi are fortunate indeed to have a scholar of Mr. Putnam's standing visit our state and address our citizens; and

WHEREAS, it is appropriate that the people of Mississippi should, on this occasion, honor Mr. Putnam for his efforts in behalf of true intersectional understanding, which are of great and lasting benefit to our Nation;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, ROSS R. BARNETT, Governor of the State of Mississippi, do hereby proclaim that Thursday, October 26, 1961, is and shall be known as "RACE AND REASON DAY", and hereby urge the people of Mississippi to observe this occasion by reading and discussing "Race and Reason", calling the book to the attention of friends and relatives in the North, and by participating in appropriate public functions, thereby demonstrating the appreciation of the people in our state for Mr. Carleton Putnam and for his splendid book, "Race and Reason."

GIVEN under my hand and the Official Seal of the State of Mississippi, on this the 26th day of October, A.D., 1961.



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SECRETARY OF STATE

GOVERNOR ROSS R. BARNETT issued this Proclamation designating October 26, 1961, as Race And Reason Day In Mississippi. Framed copy of Proclamation was presented to Carleton Putnam at meeting.

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The Reason For 'Race And Reason'

By W. J. SIMMONS Editor, THE CITIZEN

Indignation!

The one word summarizes Carleton Putnam's reaction to the U. S. Supreme Court's "Black Monday" school integration decision of May 17, 1954. It also started the processes that resulted in his writing the current best-selling book, Race and Reason.

When the Supreme Court's edict burst upon the country, Mr. Putnam's indignant reaction did not follow immediately. In fact, he has said that at the time he was absorbed in other matters, a state of mind he shared with many "average" Northerners — and with many Southerners too, for that matter.

The spark that touched off his indignation was struck in, of all places, *Life* Magazine. Thumbing through the pages of that repository of integrationist propaganda, Putnam came a cross an editorial which purported to answer an article stating the Southern viewpoint by Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*.

Putnam says that what aroused him about the *Life* editorial was "its lack of perception, its abundance of inept analogies and abandoned principles."

Thinking of no better way to re-

lieve his feelings, Putnam sent a letter of protest to *Life*, which achieved a fate well known to others: a polite acknowledgment thanking him for his views—and silence.

But fortunately for the nation, a copy of the protest letter had also gone to the friendly editor of a Southern newspaper, who printed it in full.

It was the strong response from friends in the South, who were comforted to find at least one Northerner who understood, that prompted further action.

The famous Putnam Letter to President Eisenhower was the result. In eloquent and candid terms, the letter laid bare the basic fallacy of the Supreme Court's arrogant decree that would blackmail Southern parents into sacrificing their children on the altar of political expediency in the name of false morality.

Dabney printed the letter, and the world knows what followed.

In one of the most amazing chain reactions ever know, "The Putnam Letter" was reprinted in dozens of papers across the South. At the suggestion of the late John Temple Graves, the Putnam Letter Committee was formed to buy space in Northern papers, which had lowered the "paper curtain".

Citizens' Council organizations alone distributed hundreds of thousands of copies, many of them in the North.

Putnam was literally buried under an avalanche of correspondence.

Five months after his letter to the President, Putnam wrote the second communication, this time to Attorney General Rogers. Here, Putnam made a detailed and brilliant indictment of the false science upon which the Supreme Court based its school integration edict.

The reprinting and mail response which followed the appearance of the first "Putnam Letter" was repeated.

By this time, Carleton Putnam, who had tried conscientiously to answer each correspondent, was confronted with the hopeless physical task of handling tens of thousands of letters.

Race and Reason developed as the answer to this demand. The book contains the two original letters which started the far-ranging public discussion, a distillation of the questions asked by correspondents, Putnam's incisive answers point by point, and his conclusion that social segregation of the races is an absolute must.

That Race and Reason filled an aching need is indicated by its enthusiastic reception among thoughtful and concerned citizens everywhere. What other book has had a special day set aside by the governor of a state for observance in its honor?

Perhaps the most telling statement of the reason for *Race and Reason* is found in the book's introduction, signed by four distinguished scientists:

"Our professional interest lies in the scientific foundations on which Mr. Putnam rests his thesis. We are in complete accord with what he has to say concerning these foundations. We agree with his balanced presentation of genetic and environmental factors in the area of both racial and individual biology. We believe they deserve this sharp reappraisal in the light of current problems in the world at large. We can also confirm Putnam's estimate of the extent to which non-scientific, ideological pressures have harassed scientists in the last thirty years, often resulting in the suppression or distortion of truth."

That truth shines brightly in Race and Reason.

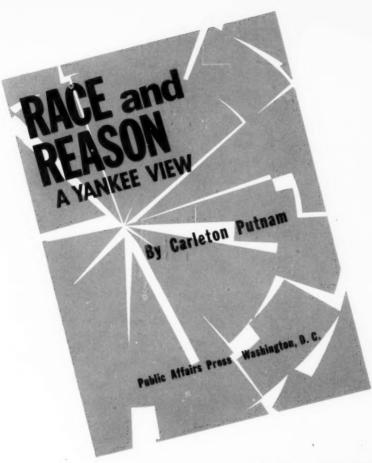
What Can I Do?

A question heard frequently these days is "What can I do to help?" Here is one answer: You can help inform the people of America! By distributing extra copies of this publication (see page 33 for details), by circulating RACE AND REASON, by calling the attention of your friends and neighbors to patriotic television and radio programs, such as Citizens' Council Forum, you can do your part!

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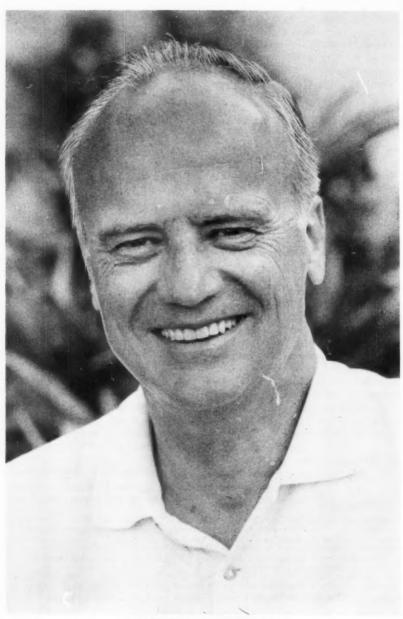


the New Best-Seller!

Praised by editors, noted scientists, national leaders . . . MUST reading for every American!

A refreshing new look at the race issue—this book will clarify your thinking, give you new facts! Carleton Putnam punctures propaganda myths and sweeps aside cobwebs of fuzzy thinking which have long obscured the truth about race! Ministers, senators, columnists call it brilliant . . . forceful . . . authoritative . . . effective . . . scholarly . . objective . . . thorough . . . challenging! You will gain new insight into an important topic by reading this informative book! Southerners must know how the North views the race problem . . Northerners must understand the South's position! Order several copies now—ideal for gifts! At your local bookstore, or use handy coupon on inside back cover to order by mail!

NATIONAL PUTNAM LETTER COMMITTEE P. O. BOX 3518 • GRAND CENTRAL STATION • NEW YORK, N. Y.



CARLETON PUTNAM

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THE CITIZEN

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Why was "Race and Reason" a special challenge to Carleton Putnam? Is the book a success? Here is a look at Putnam's many talents, his background, his amazing record of accomplishment in many fields.

Who Is Carleton Putnam?

By Dr. W. D. McCain

President, Mississippi Southern College

It is both a pleasure and a privilege to tell you something of Carleton Putnam's background. He is a man who has won distinction in many fields—as a businessman, flier, scholar, historian, writer, biographer and philosopher.

Carleton Putnam was born in New York City in 1901. His first American ancestor on his father's side arrived in Massachusetts from England in 1634. On his mother's side, his first American forebearer landed in 1636 — also in Massachusetts, and also from England. He is directly descended from the grandfather of Israel Putnam, George Washington's first major general, and from the brother of General Rufus Putnam, Washing-

ton's engineering officer and founder of the Ohio Colony.

His grandfather Putnam was a judge of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court. His grandfather Carleton was a New York publisher. His father received the Silver Star Citation for gallantry in action against insurgent forces in the Philippines at the age of 20, remained to found the first American newspaper in the Philippines, and was killed in action in the first World War at the age of 39.

Putnam graduated from Princeton in 1924 with a degree in science, having taken honors in history and politics, and having been an editor of the Nassau Literary Magazine. He received a law degree from Columbia in 1932.

Only one year after graduating from Columbia — in 1933 — he founded Pacific Seaboard Air Lines with an investment of \$25,000. I think that proves something about him — a young college graduate establishing a business of that magnitude in the depths of the Depression. This airline originally operated between Los Angeles and

Dr. McCain is a nationallyrecognized historian, scholar, author and speaker. He introduced Mr. Putnam to the banquet meeting in Jackson. A former director of the State Department of Archives and History, Dr. McCain is President of Mississippi Southern College at Hattiesburg, Miss. San Francisco, but moved to the Middle West in 1934, and changed its name to Chicago and Southern Air Lines.

He continued as its president until 1948, at which time he became Chairman of the Board and moved to Washington, D. C., to begin work on a four-volume biography of Theodore Roosevelt. In 1953, he merged Chicago and Southern with Delta Air Lines and became Chairman of the Board of the merged companies. At the time of this merger, Chicago and Southern was valued at ten million dollars and its routes had grown from the initial 450 miles of the California company to a mileage of over 5,000, serving twelve states and six foreign countries.

He lived for seven years in Memphis, Tenn., during his association with Chicago and Southern. During the rest of his life, his home has been either in New York City or Washington, D. C., but he has travelled a good deal throughout North America, the Caribbean and Europe, having also visited Africa, the Middle East, China, Japan and the Philippines.

He began flying for pleasure in 1930, and has held a pilot's license ever since, being now a commercial pilot with instrument and multi-engined ratings.

He published a contemplative autobiography of his aviation career in 1945 entitled *High Journey*, a Decade in the Pilgrimage of an Air Line Pioneer.

In 1958, the first volume of his biography, *Theodore Roosevelt*, was published by Scribners, and won universal acclaim from critics and historians. The *Chicago Tri*-

bune called the book "Magnificent—a good thing for scholarship, and a good thing for America."

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The Evansville, Ind., Courier & Press wrote, "From here it is apparent that Carleton Putnam will be to Theodore Roosevelt what Douglas Southall Freeman was to Robert E. Lee. And that's about as high as you can go in that field."

The New York Times Book Review termed the work "vivid and convincing . . . a biography of first importance."

"Remarkable" was the word used by the New York Herald Tribune Book Review, while the Christian Science Monitor called Putnam's book "an outstanding success ... a masterful portrait."

The Detroit News hailed Putnam's "sheer brilliance of presentation," and the Washington Post described the book as "a major contribution to American history and to American literature."

Atlantic Monthly called the biography of TR "Admirable, formidable, decidedly likeable." The Saturday Review found it "immensely entertaining . . . infinitely engaging."

"Putnam has done a valuable service to our age of conformity," the *Houston Post* declared. "No one can read this book and not have serious fears about our loss of individualism."

"A well-organized, highly evocative study," said the *Dayton News*. The *Chicago Daily News* critic termed the work "a masterpiece . . . unquestionably the best biographical portrait yet written."

"A superlative exercise in definitive biography," the *Newark News* agreed, while the *Baltimore Sun* noted the book's "brilliance of description and narrative."

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Putnam "presents a constructive and inspiring challenge to every serious-minded believer in democracy," the Wichita Falls Times added. "The timeliness of this outstanding biography can hardly be measured."

Such applause from the critics makes the next book even harder to write, since a high standard has already been set which the author must meet in his next work.

In Putnam's case, the next book was his justly-celebrated *Race and Reason*—a book he hadn't planned to write!

The now-famous Putnam Letters to the President and Attorney General, expressing indignation over forcible integration, were widely-distributed throughout the nation. As a result, Putnam heard from thousands of interested citizens, including many persons prominent in scientific and academic circles. Many of the letters asked questions which required answers not then readily available in published form.

So, Race and Reason was published early this year. And you know the rest. The book has been hailed by critics, educators, scientists and public officials throughout the nation. It has become a

best-seller, filling the need for a clear presentation of the South's position in terms the North can understand.

How did Race and Reason impress the critics? Did it measure up to the standard achieved in Putnam's earlier biographical work?

A recent tabulation of published reviews of *Race and Reason* answers this question in no uncertain terms. With a total of 248 reviews of the book published to date in this country and overseas, the reaction is better than 90 per cent favorable — an almost unprecedented showing for a book dealing with such an emotion-laden subject!

A total of 220 reviewers were favorably impressed by *Race and Reason*; eight were non-committal; and only 20 unfavorable reviews have been published. This amazing record is all the more remarkable if one considers that four of the unfavorable reviews appeared in Negro newspapers which could scarcely be expected to view the book objectively.

Perhaps this response indicates that our Northern friends are finally willing to listen to reason on the matter of race. If this be the case, they will find abundant food for thought in Race and Reason.

Putnam Tape Recordings Available

Car' on Putnam's noteworthy address in Jackson was tape-recorded as part of the production of the "Project: Understanding" television program now being releved by Citizens' Council Forum. Many inquiries have been received concerning availability of copies of this one-hour tape. Since Citizens' Council Forum is a non-profit educational corporation, it cannot sell these recordings. However, a tape of Mr. Putnam's speech will be sent as a gift to contributors of \$25 or more who request it. Mail your check to Citizens' Council Forum, Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

This Is The Pr

By Carleton Putnam

Chairman Williams, Governor Barnett, Governor White, Mayor Thompson, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you for your welcome. I can assure you it's warmer than I'd be likely to get in the North tonight. I'm always interested to notice how enthusiasm for integration goes up exactly in the proportion that experience with the Negro problem goes down. Everywhere, all over the world today, you'll find the amateurs telling the professionals what to do about this subject.

I come to you, in a sense, as an intelligence officer from behind the Paper Curtain. I am obviously honored by your invitation to speak tonight, by the great courtesy and kindness of the compliment paid me by your governor in this plaque. I suppose any publisher—as well as any author—would love to see this on one of the pages of the New York Times Book Review as an advertisement. It might make quite an impression! I'm not sure that there has ever been a case in our history where a book has had a proclamation of this kind devoted to it.



Of course, personally, and apart from anything I have written, I am grateful for this chance to refresh my point of view among people of your outlook. We obviously share certain ideals that we have inherited from the early days and which we intend to preserve. Those ideals are timeless. They are not affected by "winds of change." They are as steadfast as our self-respect, our independence of mind, and our love of our homes and our families.

Missisippi is the heartland of the struggle for racial integrity. You are not an unkindly people—but you are an experienced people. You know your own conditions. Unlike

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Here is the full text of Carleton Putnam's address to the Oct. 26 dinner meeting in Jackson, with new material added by the author for this exclusive feature. Mr. Putnam made a similar presentation to a Nov. 10 rally of the New Orleans Citizens' Council.

some cities of the South, the newspapers of Jackson are not controlled by Northerners. You have not fallen victim to the ceaseless barrage of false science, false sentimentality and false political theory with which the North, and some parts of the South, are being inundated. Your leaders are not selling your heritage or your children for a block of votes!

Nor are you persuaded by the fantasy that, in order to please every-body all over the world, you must give away everything your forefathers earned for you over a thousand years of effort and self-discipline. You may be willing to give money within reason to please the Congo, but you are *not* willing to give your children. The capital of Mississippi is still in Jackson. It is not in Leopoldville!

For all this, as I say, I am grateful. But at the same time I cannot close my eyes, any more than you can close yours, to the realities of the situation. In spite of the unassailable logic of your position you are under harassment and attack from all sides. The dean of the Harvard Law School fumes with fury at the mention of Mississippi. The kindly housewife in Wisconsin turns away at the name of Jackson. I am sure you often wonder why. And since there's an old adage that to get anything done you must first define the problem, I am going to inquire, what is the problem in this case?

Some of you may answer, "It's the Supreme Court decision of 1954." Others are wont to say "It's the power-hungry centralists trying to destroy the rights of the states." Still others will say that "It's minority group pressure or Communist infiltration."

Now, in my judgment, to some extent all of those things are true. All of them are problems, but they all exist because of something else. If you could correct the fundamental difficulty, these others would disappear. And I speak from an embroilment in this matter, as you know, of about three years now, from Seattle to Miami and from Maine to California.

When I think about this underlying problem, I think about a night on the Outer Banks of North Carolina some eight or ten years ago. I was sitting after dinner one summer evening looking at the ocean and talking to a friend. He was a graduate of the Yale School of Forestry; he was also a writer of Western adventure stories. He was an expert chess player. He was one of the leaders in the United Nations conservation movement and in world forestry. I mention these things because I want to make clear that he was a man of above average training and experience, and had some knowledge of science.

The conversation drifted around to the race problem, and at one point this man said to me: "Of course, you realize it has now been proved that there is no difference between the brain of a white man and a Negro. As far as any differences exist between the races, these must be accounted for exclusively by environment and lack of opportunity."

I confess that at the time, this remark startled me. I had given no thought in those days to our racial situation—that was long before my embroilment began. So I didn't argue. But after my letters to the President and the Attorney General were published, I became involved in correspondence and personal conversation with countless people from many walks of life throughout the North, the Midwest and the West. And it didn't take me long to realize that this comment of the man on the Outer Banks was typical of Northern opinion—that is, it characterized the thinking of those who were willing to accept the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 and everything that has happened since.

These people all believed that in spite of conditions in Africa, in spite of what we see of the Negro masses in the United States, in spite of what we find in Haiti, where the Negro has had every opportunity to develop a stable, free society, this race is simply the victim of adverse circumstances. In fact, they believe the fault is mostly the white man's.

And since they believe the fault is mostly the white man's, they think it's up to the white man now to do something about it. We must call in religion to help us redeem ourselves. We must call in the sociologists. We must re-educate our children in the colleges. We must even reinterpret the Constitution of the United States so that we can put Negro children in schools with ours. Perhaps in that way we can relieve our consciences. And it's only right that the South should suffer most, because the South, they believe, is the most guilty.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is the problem! Don't think for one minute that the Supreme Court would have handed down its decision in 1954 if it hadn't been counting on this point of view among great numbers of people up North. Don't think for an instant that our minority pressure groups would succeed if they weren't floating on an ocean of tacit public acceptance. Yes, the politicians are betraying you for the Negro vote, the centralists are grabbing power away from the states in this field, but the reason they're able to do so is because the white

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majority is confused, hypnotized, misled and beguiled into standing aside and letting them get away with it.

Now I don't suppose I need to point out that it makes a great difference whether a man is where he is because of what he is, or whether he is what he is because of where he is. It matters greatly whether a man is no good because he has spent his life in the slums, or whether he has spent his life in the slums because he's no good. It matters in our sense of guilt about him; it also matters in what we can do about him. Moreover, when we substitute a race for an individual in such a situation, it makes a decisive difference in the chances we can take in our own exposure to that race.

So the question is crucial. Is the Negro the creation of his environment or is his environment the creation of the Negro? To put it more precisely, taking the problem on the racial scale, are the Negro's limitations hereditary, and thus only subject to change over a great many generations? Or are they exclusively a matter of surroundings and thus curable in this generation? Are they genetic and thus transmittable to our descendants if we intermarry? Or are they environmental and thus of no consequence to future generations? To that question the North answers with a resounding "Environment", and the Supreme Court echoes with its decision on the schools.

Well may you ask, how did all this happen? How can a view so contrary to observation and experience have captured so large a public? Almost everyone is ready to admit that heredity makes a difference in individuals within a single race, and to maintain that the process stops when we compare averages and qualities between races is a strange and forced bit of wishful thinking. Science, of course, does not dismiss anything because it seems strange and forced. But the burden of proof is clearly upon those who would deny the obvious, and this burden of proof no equalitarian scientist has been able to sustain.

Under these circumstances then, how can we account for the mirage that floats before the eyes of the North? To explain it I'm going to have to go back about thirty years. The idea that all races are equal in their natural endowments and in their adaptability to our Western culture took root in America in the classrooms of Franz Boas at Columbia University in the late 1920's. With Boas, as students or assistants, we find the names of Otto Klineberg, Melville Herskovits, Gene Weltfish and Ashley Montagu. Gene Weltfish later became a member of certain organizations cited by the Attorney General as subversive and publicly announced that she had evidence to prove that the United States had used germ warfare in Korea. Some of the others were doubtless sincere, though perhaps biased by their personal backgrounds. I'm not sure about all of them. After Boas died, Columbia brought in Ralph Linton, who dismissed all of Boas' employees who had no tenure, and the University finally dropped Weltfish on the grounds of "too long" tenure.

NOVEMBER 1961

But the Boas group, in America at least, was the beginning of the environmental ideology as far as science was concerned. Russia made its contribution in Lysenko, who claimed wheat could be turned into rye, and these men drew to them other scientists with leftist inclinations in Europe and the United States. They built up quite a clique at Harvard and Columbia and other universities here and abroad. As the New Deal came along and we went further left in the United States, they fitted in with the climate.

It was a time when the underdog more and more was becoming king, and men with socialistic and equalitarian ideas were willing to go to absurd lengths to pay him homage. The out-groups in this country, after a long, hungry spell, were-beginning to feel their oats, and were gaining favor with the in-groups. These things made it possible for the Boas clique to become the dominant academic power. It wasn't long before they were able to dictate policy, and eventually a whole generation of American young people were delivered into their hands.

Persecution of scientists who disagreed with them became one of their techniques. In Russia, of course, this was easy. Scientists who contradicted Lysenko were simply arrested. In the so-called free world, the matter had to be handled a bit more subtly. It will be apparent to you that I cannot here tonight name names. It is because there is risk of persecution that I cannot call specific witnesses. But I can cite cases and I can ask that you accept my word for their genuineness.

So I will mention the Southern anthropologist who wrote me using such terms as "avoidance" and "suppression" and "discouragement" of research. I will cite the Northern sociologist who, having made a public statement on the non-equalitarian side, went back to his university and was told: "We won't fire you. That would be too obvious. But as long as you stay here you will never get a promotion and you will never receive a raise in pay." I will mention the Middle Western psychologist who wrote me: "Where in the United States could a psychologist, sociologist or anthropologist find work if he openly espoused the theory of racial inequality?" I will give you my experience with one of the world's most distinguished anthropologists who asked me after I had seated myself in his living room in a Northern city: "Are you sure you haven't been followed?" And I will add still another scientist who said, "I can't commit academic suicide. I still have work to do. But, when I retire. . . ."

The process wasn't always one of suppression. Sometimes it was one of prostitution. Back in the middle of the New Deal days, a friend of mine was assistant Naval Attache' at Caracas, and while he was stationed there he met three anthropologists who were returning from Africa. These scientists told my friend they had been sent to Africa with the blessing of the President of the United States, but with specific instructions that they were to return with equalitarian findings. "Go to Africa, study the natives, and discover that they have all the natural endowments of white men." Those were their orders. Needless to say, the anthre

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pologists were a bit disgruntled—they told my friend their actual findings had been quite the opposite. What they told the President, I don't know.

At this point I'm going to turn to the Northern press, to the Northern television and radio broadcasting networks and ask them: What do you think of this business? I'm going to ask Luce and Jackson of *Time* and *Life*, and Dryfoos and Sulzberger of the *New York Times*: How much longer are you going to vilify the South and divide this nation on the basis of evidence spawned under these conditions? Do you call this academic freedom? And if we don't have academic freedom, what kind of freedom do we have?

And what about some of you so-called Southern newspapers? I salute the Jackson press, but what about Atlanta? What about 'Dallas? What about Memphis? How much effort have you given to studying the facts in this situation? I'll say to you editors who are the servants of Northern masters, I'd rather quit my job than betray the people in my home town! I'd rather die poor than mislead my neighbors about something as important as this. I'd rather starve than corrupt the thinking of the father and mother across the street. Men who will do that sort of thing are in the same class with the business men who favor integration because they fear resistance may hurt their pocketbooks. I wouldn't want to sell my descendants' future for thirty pieces of silver, but there's no accounting for taste these days.

As a matter of fact, Mississippi is the heartland of resistance to integration, yet Jackson County has just been chosen as the site for a 125-million-dollar oil refinery and Southern Mississippi has been picked for a space facility. But I hate to even mention that. Are we going to balance our children's future, the very integrity of our civilization, against a dollar sign?

I shall come back to this subject later. First I'd like to explore a few other parts of the picture. The followers of Boas had no difficulty, for instance, in capturing the United Nations, because it goes without saying that at the United Nations the wish-fulfilling attraction of the environmentalist doctrine reached its height. You might expect committees to be set up at the UN to prove all sorts of equalitarian theories, and that is precisely what you do find. You find it most noticeably in the UNESCO statements of 1950 and 1951 on the subject of race, signed by a long list of scientists which is flaunted in the faces of the North at all times. The first statement in 1950 was signed by Klineberg, Montagu and Myrdal, the Swedish socialist, (we don't find Weltfish) and by a man named Ginsberg for England and Levi-Strauss for France. Juan Comas signed for Mexico, and there will be more to say about him in a moment.

You may wonder why it was found advisable to issue a second statement so soon after the first. The published reason was that some of the contentions in the first statement and some of the terms used "were much criticized, especially by physical anthropologists and geneticists." (They're the ones that know the most about this subject.) Then we read: "They (the scientific critics of the first statement) also declined to

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acknowledge as a proved fact that there are no mental differences between racial groups and stressed that there was insufficient evidence to support that view . . ." So they issued a second statement in 1951 which carried water on both shoulders a little more skillfully and made it possible to bring a few more signatures under the tent.

Let me give you an example. On one page we find this sentence: "Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development." On the page directly opposite we read: "It is possible, though not proved, that some types of innate capacity for intellectual and emotional responses are commoner (sic) in one human group than another." Is it surprising that the president of one of the scientific societies most concerned with this subject wrote me a few weeks ago: "The two contradictory statements invalidate the whole thing . . . The fact that a certain person signed it means little about his personal convictions."

So much for the United Nations. But remember that public opinion in the North doesn't have a chance to analyze the situation as we are analyzing it here. All they are given in the propaganda they read is the equalitarian statement, and all they get is a general impression of agreement. Remember, too, what I said at the outset about the burden of proof. A scientist cannot deny the obvious (what we see when we look at Africa, or Haiti, or at our own crime statistics), plus all the evidence of history, without himself accepting the burden of proof. You don't abandon all the experience of mankind, flaunt established tradition and annihilate the status quo on the basis of an ideological guess. You don't crucify the South on a cross of equalitarian propaganda.

This propaganda, I must emphasize, has two parts. Its proponents are not satisfied with preaching a wish-fulfilling gospel. They try to persuade you and the people of the North that all other scientists agree with it. And let me show you how false that is. You have, first of all, the four distinguished men who signed the introduction to Race and Reason. In July of 1961, one of these men, Dr. Henry Garrett, wrote an article from the non-equalitarian viewpoint for the Mankind Quarterly. Thereupon Garrett and the Mankind Quarterly were attacked by our friend Comas of the University of Mexico in an article in Current Anthropology. The editor of Current Anthropology, one Sol Tax, first submitted Comas' article to 21 scientists for their comments, and these comments were published with the article.

The selection of the 21 scientists by Sol Tax and the resulting cross-section of opinion gives us a strange sort of ballot on this issue—not a secret ballot, nor one in which the voters acted as free agents. Reading their remarks is an interesting exercise in how to escape committing onesself. In fact, I had to scrutinize each opinion carefully, coupling it sometimes with what I knew from the voter himself, to find out what it implied. Giving the benefit of the doubt in every case to the equalitarian side, I would estimate that 14 of the 21 agreed with Comas, which looks off-

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hand like a two-thirds endorsement of equalitarianism. The trick here is that six out of the 21 voted from behind the Iron Curtain. They are scientists living in Communist countries, where the party line requires strict conformity. Eliminate those six names and you see what happens to the ratio. It becomes eight to seven. And you started with a list of voters selected by an equalitarian.

I place only minor emphasis on this episode, because I don't believe that in the present climate of fear of reprisal and general timidity we can get a count of scientists that means much. We laymen will have to read the books on each side, understanding the background against which they are being written, and make up our own minds where the truth lies. Having done this myself, I'd be willing to put the matter in the hands of any intelligent jury. I might caution such a jury against being misled by the natural effort of certain scientists to avoid hurting anybody's feelings. I'd also want to clarify the meaning of certain terms the scientists use.

If you can bear with me while I give you another example, I'd like to offer a case that covers both of these points. It is coming to be recognized that there is a relationship between the fissuration (the grooving) of the frontal lobes of the brain and the higher forms of human activity the capacity for analytical reasoning, foresight, self-control, judgment and abstraction. The number of fissures or sulci gives us a sort of index of that kind of intelligence. (You will find the subject developed in Ward C. Halstead, Brain and Intelligence.) In comparing fissuration or sulci as between white and Negro brains, C. J. Connolly, Professor of Physical Anthropology at Catholic University has this to say in his External Morphology of the Primate Brains: "The sulcal features occasionally alleged to be characteristic of the Negro brain in all cases are not supported in this study. For example, the opinion that the fronto-medial sulci are few in number in the Negro brain fails to be verified. They are sometimes highly developed in the Negro brain . . . (up to this point, what more could an equalitarian ask? Then Father Connolly quietly closes his sentence) . . . at most it is a matter of frequency differences."

Now, of course, the frequency differences are the whole point. When a scientist talks about frequency differences in a case such as this he means that the averages differ, and the average is what we care about when we're dealing with a race. No one questions that there are overlaps in performance between the races, and one would expect to find overlaps, so to speak, in the structure of the brains. Yet the unwary layman might well be misled by Connolly's statement.

Again Connolly says: "The fissural pattern of the frontal lobes differs in a general way in the two races though one could not distinguish a particular brain as belonging to a particular race on the basis of a difference in fissuration of the frontal lobes." And again we must say, "of course". The non-equalitarian does not claim that individual Negroes present any particular or universal limitation. It is entirely a matter of averages. You cannot tell an individual Negro brain from an individual white brain, but if you had a hundred random Negro brains on one side

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of this room and a hundred white brains on the other side you could tell which group was which. And that's the issue where racial interbreeding is involved.

Finally, having done his best to avoid hurting the Negroes' feelings, having given the equalitarians something they can pull out of context and quote in New York, Connolly sums the matter up for us in these words: "As to racial differences no morphological feature was found to be exclusively characteristic of either the white or Negro brain. It would be quite erroneous, however, to conclude from this fact that cerebral differences do not exist in the two races. There is first of all a difference in the frequencies of morphological features in the sulcal pattern such as has been illustrated. . . . The differences in frequencies combined with other morphological features such as the shape of the brain and the relative size of its parts are of anthropological significance."

In other words, we have no difficulty in reading between the lines, nor actually on the lines, with these truth-oriented scientists—once we recognize what they are up against. Sometimes we have to put two and two together, or even two scientists together, as in the case of Halstead and Connolly. One scientist may not be willing to say it all. But with a little practice we soon learn the code.

At the same time, let's not underestimate the openings for equalitarian deception in this area. Unless the layman is alerted, it's easy to deceive him, and the Northerner is deceived. The too-simple statement that you can't tell an individual black brain from a white brain is only one example. The equalitarians have all sorts of plausible cliches they inflict on the Northern public. They will repeat, for instance, that the difference within a race are greater than the differences between races, as if this fact had some relevance. Over and over we must point out that of course there is overlap, of course some Negroes surpass some whites, of course the differences within are greater than between. This does not change the fact that when the graph of variation of one is laid against the graph of variation of the other, in those capacities involved in adapting to our civilization, the black as a whole falls below the white as a whole. And again we must emphasize: There you have the danger in interbreeding. Marry those two graphs and the white must come down.

I might say here that Race and Reason has been in circulation for six months and there has yet to be any serious attempt to attack it scientifically. At least none has come to my attention. There have been a few reviewers who have referred to the book as full of errors and contradictions, but unfortunately none of these reviewers have had the time to point the errors or contradictions out. The nearest attempt was an article in the Eugenics Review signed by a doctor in the Public Health Service and the gist of his attack was as follows: "With respect to the sort of hereditary variations that might influence adaptation to civilization, an individual's manifest traits are the best guide to his genotype. . . . Thus, even when intermarriage is in question, science demands that each person be considered on his merits."

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Now if that statement is science, then I'm speaking tonight in Italian! Such a comment in effect negates the influence of heredity entirely, except as it may express itself in one individual in one generation. It assumes that a brilliant son of a stupid father may not in turn have a stupid son—a position that no trained geneticist would accept for a moment. Perhaps the writer expects to give his assertion plausibility by his phrase "with respect to the sort of hereditary variations that might influence adaptation to civilization," but I must point out that the fissuration of the frontal lobes is just as much a matter of heredity as skin color.

The writer also makes the epigrammatic remark that "marriages are contracted between individuals, not between races," forgetting that when enough individuals marry, the races in effect do marry, that much of the breeding is non-selective, and that the end result is a wide distribution of Negro gene-traits through the white race. This is what accounts for the general deterioration always found in the resultant mulatto culture.

At the risk of being accused of a lack of modesty, I am tempted to tell those of you who may wish to use *Race and Reason* as a tool in this controversy that Dr. Ruggles Gates, who signed the introduction, has no superior in the field of human genetics, that he is the author of the definitive work in this field and that he was kind enough to write Dr. Garrett a personal letter last March in which he spoke in a not entirely uncomplimentary way of *Race and Reason*. One of his comments is printed on the jacket of the paperback edition. Until we get something more solid than the article in the *Eugenics Review*, I am content to rest my case on that comment.

Now, I turn to still another part of the picture. The situation would be bad enough if we had only to deal with these left-wing pseudo-scientists. But we are faced with something else. Out of the scientific cloisters exudes a doctrine which seeps into the churches, into the press, into the movies and other mass media, until all the instruments for molding public opinion are corrupted.

Let me give you a rather startling illustration. In my hand I hold a pamphlet, written by one Father C. J. McNaspy, S. J., (Society of Jesuits). It's called "Let's Talk Sense About The Negro." It bears the Nihil Obstat of Austin B. Vaughan, S.T.D., and the Imprimatur of Francis Cardinal Spellman. We are told that these guarantee the pamphlet's freedom from moral error. Yet on page 14 we find these two sentences: "If some Negroes show tendencies toward delinquency, if they suffer from lack of ambition, lack of drive, apathy—we may blame this on the environment we have compelled him (sic) to live in, not on some imagined inferiority in his biology. This is not my opinion; it is the conviction of all scientific psychologists and anthropologists."

Ladies and gentlemen, no one wants to stress the importance of environment more than I do, no one wants to improve the Negro's environment more than I do, but it would be difficult to conceive of a more profound, a more complete or a more inexcusable falsehood than Father

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(Top Photo)—Carleton Putnam is presented with Proclamation designating Race And Reason Day In Mississippi by Governor Ross R. Barnett. (Lower Photo)—Chatting at banquet are, left to right, Putnam; Dr. D. M. Nelson, president-emeritus of Mississippi College; Dr. W. D. McCain, president of Mississippi Southern College; Congressman John Bell Williams; and Governor Barnett.

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McNaspy's last sentence. The whole statement is the rankest sort of unqualified environmentalism coupled with the assertion that all scientists agree with it. I don't have to go back and quote Professors Gates, Garrett, George, Millot, Le Frou, Connolly, Hardin, Shuey, McGurk or Gayre to you now. But apparently Father McNaspy knows nothing about them. I can't bring myself to believe he knows. Yet if he doesn't know, he should. He had no business putting out a pamphlet like this unless he'd made some study of the subject. You may say, what about your friend on the Outer Banks? And my answer is, he wasn't publishing a pamphlet!

Or take this article by the Episcopal Bishop of Michigan. It's an attack on Race and Reason in the Detroit News of June 4, 1961, in which the bishop, one Richard Emrich, brings Abraham Lincoln into the argument, and notice the way he does it. He says, "Abraham Lincoln's clear mind can lead us to see the heart of this struggle which is still America's chief agony. (The Bishop doesn't pause to consider who started this most recent agony!) The logic of segregation, discrimination, or exclusion leads to the destruction of all civil liberties everywhere. Why? Because, says one man writing about Lincoln, 'the essence of his position was that the principle of exclusion has no inner check; that arbitrarily barring one minority from the exercise of its rights can be both a precedent and a moral sanction for barring another and that it creates a frame of mind from which no one can expect justice or security."

To examine the minor error in this thing first, am I correct in my recollection that our American Republic has been in existence since 1787, that between that time and 1954 we have grown from very small beginnings to be the leading free society of the world and that during all of that time we had segregated schools in the South? And if I am correct in my recollection, may I ask Bishop Emrich what he means when he says, "the logic of segregation leads to the destruction of all civil liberties everywhere?" Jesus tells us to love God with all our minds as well as with all our hearts, and I ask Bishop Emrich: "Where was your mind when you wrote that sentence?"

But in my judgment this is the minor fallacy in the quotation from the Bishop. You notice he talks about Lincoln's clear mind and then he phrases matters in such a way that you get the impression that what he quotes next is practically a citation from Lincoln on segregation. Actually, Emrich's words are, "Says one man, writing about Lincoln, 'the essence of his position was—'" and so forth. Certainly I don't have to tell this audience what Lincoln actually said about the Negro: "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races." True, that was in 1858. By the end of the Civil War, Lincoln had made it plain that he hoped "very intelligent" Negroes might be given the franchise by the state governments, and I would not hesitate to assume that today Lincoln would favor a franchise on the same basis—for "very intelligent" Negroes under the control of the states. However, there is no indication anywhere that Lincoln

today would approve forced social integration of whites and blacks in the South. Yet Bishop Emrich deliberately offers us what some unnamed person thought Lincoln thought, when he had on the record what Lincoln actually said.

I have difficulty in understanding the mentality of men who misrepresent Lincoln's position on the Negro. In fact, I'm inclined to quote further here from Lincoln for the benefit of both the Bishop and the editor of the *Detroit News*. On September 16, 1859, Lincoln in a speech was commenting on an editor who had distorted his views, so where I quote "editor" you can supply "of the *Detroit News*" and you can also supply "Bishop Emrich". I now quote from Lincoln: "Having shown you this, there remains but a word of comment on that newspaper article. It is this: that I presume the editor of that paper is an honest and truth-loving man, and that he will be very greatly obliged to me for furnishing him thus early an opportunity to correct the misrepresentation he has made, before it has run so long that malicious people can call him a liar."

Is Bishop Emrich as well as Father McNaspy the victim of ignorance? We can only hope so, because otherwise the moral deterioration in our churches is alarming to say the least. Earlier this evening I addressed a question to the leaders of the Northern press. I now address myself to the clergy and to them I say: There has been no case in history where whites and blacks have integrated without destruction of the white civilization, and there is no human right greater than the right of a civilization to defend itself against such destruction. That right you would watch the federal government take forcibly from the South while you sit with your hands folded in prayer! I'm tired of empty phrases with no thought behind them, I'm tired of the sort of combined ignorance and stupidity shown by your McNaspys and your Emrichs, I'm tired of your timid conformity with the popular drift.

And finally, I'm tired of your milk and water suggestions that we pass the buck to God while you support a policy which forces the white children of the South against the wishes of their parents into associations they understand better than you do! You pose as idealists, yet you hide behind the skirts of religion while you condone a crime against fifty million Americans!

There are two things in this state of affairs that I want to stress. One is that the environmental ideology is false—or perhaps I should say that it is the worst kind of a half-truth, which can do more damage than a fallacy. The second thing is that nevertheless this fallacy, this half-truth, has gained complete possession of the Northern and Western mind. Some, perhaps many, of the leaders in our press, our clergy, our entertainment, our colleges, and our politics may recognize the fallacy and either through timidity or cupidity are pressing on with it just the same. But my experience has satisfied me that the great majority of Northerners are simply misled. I'm talking now of the inarticulate masses of the people who only speak at the polls. The scientists, educators, editors and churchmen make it easy for the Northern politicians, who nowadays

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would much prefer to do what they think a misinformed public wants than bother to inform them correctly.

I am reminded by contrast of a comment that was made on the duty of statesmanship by quite a different kind of leader a generation ago. This leader remarked: "People used to say of me that I was an astonishingly good politician because I divined what the people were going to think. This really was not an accurate way of stating the case. I did not 'divine' what the people were going to think. I simply made up my mind what they ought to think, and then did my best to get them to think it," If we had leaders like that today, we wouldn't be in this mess. Certainly we haven't got such leaders in the North or in the federal administration, and the question now is, can the South supply them? Can other Southern states produce some Barnetts and Williamses?

Let me re-state the situation: We have in the North a great body of public opinion hypnotized by the belief that all the Negro's limitations are environmental, that the only reason he does not appear to be the white man's equal in every respect is because the white man has forced him into an inferior environment—has "held him back," as they say—and this belief includes conditions in Africa as well as America. Once you accept that idea, it follows logically that white men ought in justice and morality to take every possible step by way of restitution to correct this environment, even at the expense of disadvantage to themselves.

Over the last several years I have talked or corresponded with thousands of sincere, intelligent Americans and I have found this point of view almost universal. I have had it repeated often enough so that I can assure you it permeates our Northern society as a whole. They read an occasional book on science, the books that are kept at the front of the bookstores, and there they find the environmentalist view. They go to a movie and they get it there. On Sundays they hear it preached in church. When they turn on TV they hear news and documentaries and plays all slanted in the same direction. Their children come home from school with books written by environmentalists. I could go on forever. The point is: You have a completely indoctrinated society in the North. On that indoctrination the integration movement rests. It gives it all the sanctions of a moral crusade. It makes it shine like the Holy Grail. And what is the South doing about it? It is talking about something completely beside the point, it is concentrating almost exclusively on the subject of states' rights.

Citizens of Mississippi, I give you this as axiomatic: The Supreme Court's decision on desegregation simply follows the trend of public opinion in the North and West, and the average man in the North and West doesn't give a damn about states' rights in the face of his belief that the South is committing a wrong against the Negro!

You might as well try to use states' rights to justify mass murder.

And the Northerner goes further—when you talk about states' rights he thinks to himself, "Sure, the Southerner is willing enough to plead states' rights when he wants to browbeat and oppress the Negro—but



(*Top Photo*)—Enjoying a conversation during the banquet are Carleton Putnam (left) and Former Governor Hugh L. White of Mississippi, a sponsor of the dinner. (*Lower Photo*)—Governor and Mrs. Barnett in a serious discussion with Putnam. Barnett sent copies of *Race and Reason* with personal letters to other 49 U. S. Governors.

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when it comes to getting his hands in the federal treasury, he sings a different tune." In other words, this line of defense not only doesn't do you any good up North, it does you harm!

I don't have to repeat that I am completely in sympathy with the principle of states' rights. I only say it's out of place in dealing with your racial problem. Or, if you prefer, let's say you've tried it and it hasn't worked. In my opinion, there is just one solution now to this problem: Tell the North over and over again that you are fighting for the integrity of your civilization. Remind them that there has never been a case in history where whites and blacks have lived together, without segregation, in such numbers as you have in the South today, and have failed to intermarry. Remind them that such intermarriage has always resulted in the deterioration of the white civilization. Point out to them that the facts of science, when viewed through unbiased eyes, support the facts of history. Show them that the historical evidence is what you would expect to find from the scientific evidence, the genetic nature of the latter accounting for the deterioration apparent in the former. Make clear that you have in most cases done all you could—and a lot more than most to improve environment for the Negro, and that you intend to do even more. Continue forward in that area, but when it comes to social segregation, say to the North: "Here we stand four square!"

I need scarcely remark that you should prepare yourselves to meet the reflex action you will get from the North. I've met it so often and found it so stereotyped and superficial that it's hard to take it seriously, but it must be met. When they say to you, "But we can't hold the Negro back," answer, "Any race that is held back by segregation is held back by associating with itself, and such a race had better do something about itself, instead of demanding that another race also be held back by forced association with it."

Or when they suggest that your children don't have to marry Negroes just because they must go to school with them, call their attention to the gradually erosive effect of the equalitarian ideology implicit in this movement. Remind them that it is not solely a question of the impact on one generation but upon a series of generations, each becoming a little less aware of what's involved. Tell them that time and familiarity, coupled with the hypnotic repetition of the equalitarian doctrine, can slowly make black seem white and something which at first repelled seem eventually acceptable. Paraphrase Alexander Pope's famous quatrain for them:

Here is an evil of such frightful mein, That to be hated needs but to be seen; Yet seen too often, familiar with its face, We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Be on your guard against the leftist who is obsessed with the idea of "change", who wants "change" just because it's fashionable, and who talks continually about "winds of change". Remind him that every burglar who breaks into a house wants change. He wants to change the possession of the savings and heirlooms of the owner who earned

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or conserved them through the years. And sometimes nations and races want to do the same thing.

Straighten out the North on this "all-men-were-created-equal" concept. Explain that that phrase has never referred to cultural, social or genetic equality except in Communist countries. Our history is full of evidence on the point, but if you want it in a page or two you'll find it in Race and Reason.

And don't let them seduce you with this notion that your "image before the world" will be damaged by segregation. It goes without saying that riots are damaging, but what these equalitarians are trying to tell you is that segregation itself is damaging. All you have to do is to ask them which is more important—to keep the integrity of your civilization—to conserve the standards and traditions your forefathers developed through a thousand years—or to please some African who thinks freedom is a package you go down and get at the post office? Remind them that if a thing is wrong, you don't do it to please anybody. Put your heel on this spirit of appeasement, this idea that we must run twittering around smoothing the fur of folly—which is the surest way to gain everybody's contempt.

Most important of all, do what you can to persuade Southern leaders—governors, mayors, and federal representatives—to take advantage of their national radio and television time to put these points across to the Northern public. The newspapers and magazines are full of items against you every day. TV can't completely shut you out, however, when some crisis brings one of your leaders into national attention.

It's so easy to see the opposition of a politician or scientist or a minority group leader and say "Well, we've got to attack there and we must fight him and it's getting so hopeless." The point is that the only reason he's succeeding is because he's floating on a tide of the masses of the American people who have a false conception of the humanitarian side of this matter. That's why I urge you, at every opportunity that presents itself, to take advantage of the opportunity to quash this environmentalist point of view.

And don't deceive yourselves that the South as a whole has tackled this particular problem. I remember a short while ago, when the eyes of the nation were on a Southern city at the opening of the school year, the governor of the state appeared on a national television network at prime twilight time. He had the entire country watching. And he called a newspaper reporter to him. He said "Come here a minute." It was quite a dramatic setting.

Then he asked, "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" He had the beginning of a point. But by itself it meant absolutely nothing. I could almost hear the Northern audience saying, "Well, why not? There's nothing the matter with the Negro except he hasn't had a chance." Or else asking, "Why can't you control your children?" Or more likely saying, "That old gag! We've heard that one before." The chance to say

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something really convincing was wasted because there was no appreciation of what the problem was.

Perhaps the most tragic example of what I have in mind-although similar things are happening somewhere almost every day on a lesser scale—occurred at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in July a year ago. There the South really had the nation captive in front of its television sets. It was super-prime night time at a super-exciting convention. And the South had a whole hour to state its case. My wife and I sat in front of our set and we thought "By golly, this is going to be it. At last they've gotten through the paper curtain, the TV curtain, all the other curtains." And so the hour began. James Gray made an excellent presentation of the legal side of the South's case, and we felt that next would surely come the fundamental issue. And the hour went on, and it went on, and it went on. And then it was over. And the South, which had the most at stake and ought to have known the subject best, had uttered not one word on the most vital issue in the world today. A succession of Southern leaders had gone across the platform talking about how "my great grandpappy had been a member of the Democratic Party." The hour was over, and my wife turned to me and said, "This is a disaster."

Can nothing be done to convince Southern leaders, governors, senators, congressmen, mayors, to use their precious air time, whether it be at a riot or on "Open End", to strike back at this dishonesty, this creeping paralysis of mind, this ignorance? What's wrong? What's holding them back? Why do so few have the discernment of your leaders here in

Mississippi?

things out in

All of us know that no war was ever won by staying on the defensive. When it comes to the racial issue, the states' rights argument is both defensive and evasive. On the other hand, the racial integrity issue—which you in Mississippi, more than any other state, have made an issue—puts

the attack into *your* hands where it belongs!

There you have an issue that has just as much moral sanction, just as much power, just as much of the Holy Grail appeal as any issue on earth. You won't find a pastor in any church in America who can choose a text to surpass it. There is your Cause! With that Cause history is on your side, science is on your side, righteousness is on your side—I'll go so far as to say the American people are on your side, if you'll arouse them and inform them!

Challenge the parents of America. Say to them: "Do you have any doubt about the genetic foundation of life? Look in that crib tonight and answer the question." Say to some of these well-meaning and blind Northern leftists: "If you must take money out of the pocket of the man who earned it and put it into the pocket of the man who didn't, that's one thing. That may sometimes be justified. (But, less often than you think.) Go ahead, if you must, and spend other people's money, but, you hypocrites, stop trying to spend other people's children!"

If I were in a Southern governor's shoes, those are some of the things I'd say. And here are a few more. I'd suggest to the American people

that they examine the personal backgrounds and political leanings of the Myrdals and the Herskovitses and I'd ask, "Do you see any indication of political bias in their books? Read some of them. Do you think their science is non-political in its motivation? Do you see no personal motives in any of this?"

I'd remind my audience that Clyde Kluckhohn, the Harvard anthropologist, recanted before he died. And then I'd call attention to this statement signed by Professors Gates, Gayre, Garrett and George: "We do not believe that there is anything to be drawn from the sciences in which we work which supports the view that all races of men, all types of men, or all ethnic groups are equal and alike, or likely to become equal or alike, in anything approaching the foreseeable future. We believe on the contrary that there are vast areas of difference within mankind not only in physical appearance, but in such matters as adaptability to varying environments, and in deep psychological and emotional qualities, as well as in mental ability and capacity for development. We are of the opinion that in ignoring these depths of difference modern man and his political representatives are likely to find themselves in serious difficulties sooner or later."

And I'd say further to the American people: "All right, here you have the Myrdals and the Herskovitses, the Klinebergs and the Ginsbergs on one side, and there you have the Hardins and the Georges, the Gateses and the Garretts on the other side. And in front of you, staring you in the face, you have the Congo with its chaos, you have Angola with its hidden horror, you have Haiti with its comic opera government, and you have America's crime and relief statistics. Do you mean to tell me we're holding this race back! I say to you we've done more for this race in two centuries than they've done for themselves since the beginning of the world! If they hadn't been brought over here as slaves to white men, they would have been slaves to other Negroes and many of them would have died in Africa as human sacrifices. You nation of sheep! Have you no minds of your own? Can't you see through this hoax? How much longer must we be offered up on the altar of your gullibility?"

Those are some of the things I'd say to the American people if I were a Southern governor and had some national TV time. I'd ask them, "How many stable, free societies can you name, in all history, that had any substantial mixture of Negro genes? Not one. And yet you want us to try the experiment again. All right, my Northern brothers, you try it. If you're fools enough, you try it. But don't come down here and tell us what we've got to do!"

In conclusion, let me ask a favor, and also give you a word of comfort. First, the comfort:

I learned last week that within the next six months there will be an announcement of what I would consider a major breakthrough in anthropology. It will go to the core of this racial equality business. It will come from a scientist of unimpeachable standing and if it is substituted for

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Myrdal in footnote 11 of the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, I do not see how the Court can refuse to reverse itself. The announcement will be attacked, but once you have it in your hands, take the ball and run for a touchdown. Marshal this and all the other evidence, and carry a new case to the Supreme Court!

Now for the favor:

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Please don't whisper to yourselves, "Isn't it too late? Haven't we lost this fight? If you take the road we've been discussing tonight, it's not too late. It's never too late to go to the heart of this kind of an issue, because when you do eternal forces come over to your side. There's something about lifting a banner like this and keeping it clean that attracts the unseen as well as the visible hosts! And if there was one quality that characterized the breed that built America it was that they were not afraid to slap the devil in the face! They didn't sit down and bargain with him, or offer him sacrifices. When men do that, the forces of righteousness, seen and unseen, desert them.

In the last analysis, however, if you want to be faithful to the Founding Fathers, you won't *ask* whether you're going to win. That's not your affair. The *fight* is your affair! Do the best you can! I'll put it in the words of George Washington himself: "Erect a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

Will You Meet The Challenge?

After reading Carleton Putnam's message, you now know why students of the race problem consider it so vital that this message be taken to the people of America!

You are invited to take part in this great effort, by securing additional copies of this issue for distribution to your friends and neighbors, and particularly to your relatives and business associates in the North!

Extra copies of this special issue are \$1 each; or in lots of 10 or more, 75¢ each. Quantity prices for large orders may be obtained upon request.

To place your order, simply send us your name and address, tell us how many copies you want, and enclose cash, check or money order. Please specify the November 1961 issue to assure prompt and accurate handling. Mail your order to: *The Citizen*, 315 Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

If each reader would send only two, or three, or a dozen copies of this issue to friends and relatives, the impact on America would be tremendous! You can help the light of truth to shine more brightly, and to illuminate the heretofore dark corners of our nation. Will you meet the challenge?

'Race And Reason' To Be Studied In Louisiana Schools

Following is the text of a Resolution adopted by the Louisiana State Board of Education on July 25, 1961—

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, There is increasing evidence that the sciences of biology and anthropology are being distorted and perverted to serve the purposes of certain pressure groups whose aims are inimical to the customs, mores, and traditions of this Nation, and

WHEREAS, An eminent American scholar has written a book that exposes the flagrant distortion and perversion of scientific truth by so-called social anthropologists and socialistically oriented sociologists, and

WHEREAS, the State Board of Education has the legal and moral responsibility of prescribing the curricular experiences offered in the schools of the State which, in the judgment of the Board, will best prepare students for their duties and responsibilities as citizens of the United States, and

WHEREAS, It is the concensus of this Board that selected mature students in certain schools would profit from the careful reading and study of the book RACE AND REASON, A YANKEE VIEW, by Carleton Putnam, published by Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Avenue, Washington, D. C.;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Louisiana State Board of Education, that the State Department of Education take such steps as may be necessary to bring this book to the attention of Louisiana school administrators and teachers.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the State Department of Education prepare and implement with Board approval a plan which will give selected mature high school and college students an opportunity to read and study (under teacher direction and supervision) the book RACE AND REASON, A YANKEE VIEW.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That parish and city superintendents, school principals, presidents of institutions of higher education, superintendents of special schools, and directors of State-operated trade and vocational-technical schools are directed to cooperate with the State Department of Education in carrying out the purposes of this resolution.

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A Night We'll Remember

BY JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

United States Representative From Mississippi Chairman, Carleton Putnam Dinner Committee

By all standards, the Carleton Putnam Dinner was a tremendous success. Attendance at the dinner exceeded the most optimistic hopes of its sponsors, and the program met with enthusiastic response from the guests present.

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If anyone left the meeting disappointed, certainly it was not apparent, and Mr. Putnam's scholarly address was the chief topic of conversation on the streets for many days following.

The more than 500 patriots who attended the dinner witnessed a truly memorable event. Mr. Putnam's inspiring address provided the highlight of the evening, of course, and made it an occasion which everyone present will long recall.

All who were privileged to hear Mr. Putnam were deeply impressed both by his intellectual capacity and his obvious sincerity. His address was both scholarly and challenging. His thoughtful message cast fresh light upon the South's problems. His clear reasoning gave us a new insight into our situation. His forthright presentation armed us with the facts we must have to win the final victory, and gave us renewed encouragement by showing us that we are not alone in this struggle. Finally, his clarion call for action, coupled with the almost mystic aura of success which surrounds men of his high integrity and noble motive, refreshed and revitalized our faith and determination to press onward until victory is ours.

From his New England ancestry, Mr. Putnam inherited a stern Puritan morality which refuses to rationalize an evil or compromise with Satan. From his years as a scholar, Mr. Putnam acquired an amazing knowledge of the many fields which must be explored if one is to understand what people are, and why they are that way. From his eminently successful business career, Mr. Putnam achieved a deep understanding of the common-sense aspects of life, and a recognition that to convince others, to win them over, one must talk their language. These three factors — ancestry, education and practical b u s i n e s s experiencecombine to make Carleton Putnam the effective person he is in carrying the facts about race to the people of America.

With his ability to communicate, his understanding of the facts of the case, and his unwavering belief in the basic morality of his objectives, Mr. Putnam left a lasting impression upon his Jackson audience. The effects of his visit will multiply as time passes.

It was most encouraging that the civic and business leadership of the Jackson area attended the dinner virtually en masse. These are the people whose efforts have created a happy and prosperous community, with a rate of business growth far exceeding that of any city in the "enlightened" North. people put Jackson on top - and are keeping it there! The ladies are bringing up tomorrow's leaders, instilling in each child a belief in the virtues of individual responsibility and individual freedom. The very gathering of such a group for a frank discussion of a vital problem must bring wistful glances and sighs of envy from their frustrated counterparts in some areas where such freedom of self-expression is a thing of the past!

At the reception which preceded the dinner meeting, and in conversations with many at the dinner, I was impressed by the great number of persons who were already familiar with the Putnam Letters and with Race and Reason. This shows that our leadership is well-informed and alert; and this fact may account at least partially for our victories thus far.

To read most of the Northern and E astern left-wing journals, one would assume that a pro-segregation meeting in the South would be attended exclusively by "ignorant, bigoted, ranting, unkempt, hooded hoodlums." Certainly one would get the impression that any speaker who presumed to address such a crowd would have to be a hate-mongering demagogue of the lowest form.

If anyone came to the meeting

expecting it to fit that image, he was sadly disappointed, and in for a shocking and rude awakening.

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It never ceases to disappoint the advocates of racial integration that those who favor racial integrity do not conform to the stereotypes of the "red-neck hoodlum" so emotionally portrayed in the nation's press. On the contrary, the Carleton Putnam Dinner is living and dramatic proof of the fact that people of education, culture and high position are dedicated to the proposition so evident in nature that individuals are not equal, and races are not equal.

Perhaps the question that was uppermost in the minds of those who were privileged to hear Mr. Putnam's crisp, clear speech was this: What has this event accomplished? What is its positive contribution to a solution of our most pressing and most dangerous problem?

I can speak only for myself, of course, but to me, the answer is that Mr. Putnam has enunciated an ideology around which the entire movement for racial integrity can become consolidated. He has put into lucid and scholarly form a point of view which practically all Southerners have so deeply ingrained as a part of their natures that they are apt to take it too much for granted.

He has recited chapter and verse as to the pro and con arguments on the whole integration hoax. He has provided a catechism, a handbook as it were, where one can find the scientific data to support the necessity for social separation of the races.

THE CITIZEN

All of us know, from a lifetime's experience of living among large numbers of the Caucasian and Negro races, that our position is right, both morally and practically. But many of us have taken our social structure so much for granted that when it is challenged by hostile argument, however fallacious, we haven't thought sufficiently through the matter to marshal our facts in sharp focus. Mr. Putnam has done just that.

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And no one who was present at the banquet could fail to realize that here was a man who was speaking as if he could read our minds, putting into language of crystal clarity our own convictions better than we possibly could, for the very good reason that his legacy was different, and his approach to the problem uncomplicated by a lifetime of living with it.

Mr. Putnam reminded us forcefully of a truth so many are prone to forget in the press of our daily affairs—that our primary duty is to fight for what we know is right, that we become merely distracted by being tempted to count the odds, and that right will prevail.

A few days ago, I received a letter from Mr. Putnam written in longhand. Members of the Committee, I am sure, will be interested in learning his reaction to the meeting.

Mr. Putnam wrote: "I am just now back to my desk, and for the first time have a chance to thank you for chairing the Jackson meeting and the Dinner Committee.

"It was hard work, a great compliment to me, and a thoroughgoing example of unselfish helpfulness that I shall always remember.

"Won't you please thank your staff and the other members of the Committee most heartily for me? I am deeply in their debt and sincerely grateful."

To Mr. Putnam's expression of gratitude to the Committee, I should like to add my own heartfelt thanks. The impact of this meeting is already being felt. We'll remember the occasion for a long time!

All of us recognize that it takes courage for a person of Mr. Putnam's standing, more especially in the light of his Northern background, to speak with such candor. This fact lends even more credence to the truth of his position.

Here, indeed, is a person who is dedicated to a cause which he believes to be right, and who gives unselfishly of his time, talents and energies in the interest of furthering that cause.

Mr. Putnam has already attained wealth, position and success in a material sense. It would be easy for him to rest on his laurels, and be content in the knowledge that he has been of service to mankind.

What has motivated this man in his crusade to inform the people of the truths of race, and to advocate the application of reason in dealing with its attendant problems?

The answer must be that he is moved by the highest of purposes—a burning desire to impart truth to the people of America, and to preserve inviolate the integrity of racial strains in our land.



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A PUBLIC SERVICE MESSAGE PRESENTED BY THIS PUBLICATION

A behind-the-scenes glimpse at Jackson's Carleton Putnam Dinner Committee in action shows how similar events may be organized in your community!

Here's How We Did It!

By Louis W. Hollis

Executive Director, Jackson (Miss.) Citizens' Council

What made the Carleton Putnam Dinner in Jackson such a success?

Is there a magic formula which can be applied to similar events in other locations? Or must the outcome be left to chance?

These are a few of the questions asked by many persons from other areas who attended the Carleton Putnam Dinner in Jackson, and who expressed interest in holding similar functions in other cities.

Unfortunately, there is no magic formula for success in such a project. There are no "ten easy steps to success," no point-by-point "how-to-do-it" check list. Yet, the obvious importance of such functions to the sponsoring organizations, both in creating a favorable public image of the organization and in avoiding financial disaster, makes it impossible to leave the results to chance.

What, then, is the answer? How was the event put together? What did we do in Jackson to make the Carleton Putnam Dinner the tremendous success it was?

While space limitations must necessarily prevent the inclusion of much information, we shall at-

tempt to answer these questions in this discussion.

As with any successful endeavor, the primary ingredient in this case was work—countless man-hours of hard work by all concerned! And, as is so often the case, our efforts were rewarded.

To trace the planning of the Carleton Putnam Dinner briefly: The idea for such a function had its beginning in the 50-member board of directors of the Jackson Citizens' Council. Tentative plans were made, confirmation of the date was secured from the guest of honor, Mr. Putnam, and the necessary physical arrangements were begun.

Since the Jackson Citizen's Council has sponsored many similar events, and enjoys a highly-favorable record of accomplishment, the planning could have stopped here, and the affair would doubtlessly have been remembered as another successful function of the Jackson Council.

But the organization's far-sighted officers and directors recognized the potential significance of Mr. Putnam's address in Jackson. They insisted that the event be a truly memorable one — both for Mr. Putnam and for all who attended. The board unhesitatingly agreed to

Mr. Hollis served as secretary of the Carleton Putnam Dinner Committee.

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turn the plans over to a special committee of civic leaders, to broaden the base of community support even further.

Congressman John Bell Williams was everybody's choice to serve as chairman of the Carleton Putnam Dinner Committee. Congressman Williams accepted the responsibility of heading the Committee without hesitation, despite an already-crowded calendar of public appearances and speaking engagements. This outstanding statesman is due a large measure of credit for the success of the meeting.

Soon, Congressman Williams was busy contacting outstanding citizens to enlist their support. With the 50 officers and directors of the Jackson Citizens' Council as a nucleus, it took only a short time to secure acceptances from 175 civic leaders who joined Mr. Williams as sponsors of the Carleton Putnam Dinner Committee.

A complete list of members of the Committee and their business affiliations appears elsewhere in this issue. A glance at this list will reveal the caliber of community leadership represented.

Members of the Committee had read Mr. Putnam's two famous letters and his outstanding book. They therefore worked enthusiastically at their assigned tasks, and exerted every effort towards making the dinner one which would be long remembered in the Jackson area.

Most of the Committee's work was handled over the telephone and by correspondence. As one who assisted Congressman Williams in telephoning Committee members, I know first-hand of the Committee's enthusiastic response, and of members' unanimous desire to be helpful in every way.

The Committee set out to secure attendance at the dinner by a cross-section of Jackson leadership. They contacted their friends and associates, urging their presence. In fact, the volume of personal contact work reached the point where several Committee members reported laughingly that they had discussed the dinner at some length with close friends, only to learn that the friends were also members of the Committee!

No one can add up the time and energy which the Committee devoted to the meeting. Their cooperation was nothing short of amazing! And the overflow crowd of more than 500 in attendance at the \$25-a-plate dinner is abundant evidence of the success of their endeavors.

All of this is, of course, a justly-deserved tribute to Mr. Putnam as a scholar and author, to Congressman Williams as a dedicated patriot and national leader, and to the civic-minded Committee members who worked so faithfully.

The Committee knew in advance that Mr. Putnam's address would be of far-reaching national significance. The attention it has received in the press and on radio and television is evidence that their judgment was sound.

It could well be that the night of October 26, 1961, will be recorded by future historians as marking the turning point in efforts by Southern patriots to "get through" to the nation. For seven thro trying to the

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years, we in Jackson and others throughout the South have been trying to alert the American people to the peril which confronts us all.

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While our efforts have been rewarded by a measure of success, Mr. Putnam's scholarly and reasoned approach to this vital issue was indeed heartening. A former Governor of Mississippi, Hugh L. White, made a comment well worth repeating.

Gov. White, a member of the sponsoring Committee, said of Mr. Putnam's address:

"This is the approach we have been needing. This is the reasoning that will be appealing at the grass roots all over America. Whatever it takes to present Mr. Putnam and his views to nationwide audiences must be attempted and accomplished."

This is already being done. As mentioned elsewhere in this issue, a 30-minute film production entitled "Race And Reason Day In Mississippi" is currently being distributed. This program, giving the highlights of Mr. Putnam's address, was produced by Citizens' Council Forum, and will be seen on television in many areas. The film could also be used as the featured attraction of a "Race And Reason Day" or special dinner which could be planned in any community.

We heartily recommend this idea to our readers. Such a project can succeed in your city with the backing of community leaders.

Another highlight of our "Race And Reason Day" observance was an informal reception immediately preceding the dinner meeting, for members of the sponsoring Committee. This occasion gave Congressman Williams, as chairman, Governor Ross Barnett and others an opportunity to thank each member of the Committee personally for helping make the dinner meeting a success. This recognition of the Committee's efforts was richly deserved and deeply appreciated.

In closing, let me note that it was a distinct honor and privilege to serve as secretary to this Committee. It gave me, as I think it did many others, a new insight into the concern and dedication of the hundreds of fine citizens who are ready and anxious to do something positive about this very serious and present problem.

Jackson, Mississippi, has no corner on patriotism or dedication. Groups such as ours can be formed anywhere. All that is needed in other cities is for someone to take the lead in bringing patriots together, just as Congressman Williams did in his own community. Here in Jackson, we have simply proved that it can be done.

We hope that our success will inspire others to plan similar projects elsewhere. I am sure that any member of this Committee will welcome inquiries from leaders in other areas. Any assistance we can render will gladly be accorded.

In summary, the successful Carleton Putnam Dinner in Jackson resulted from hard work by good men, armed with a noble and just cause. All who attended were favorably impressed—and all who helped make the meeting possible are proud to have had a part in it.

These Distinguished Community Lea On The Carleton Putnam Din

CONGRESSMAN JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN U. S. Representative, 4th District of Mississippi

LOUIS W. HOLLIS, SECRETARY

Executive Director, Jackson Citizens' Council

Business Manager, THE CITIZEN

RANDALL G. ALBRITTON
Retired Dairy Products Manufacturer

J. E. ALDRIDGE Hinds County Superintendent of Education

JULIAN P. ALEXANDER
Attorney; former District Attorney
H. T. ASHFORD

Hinds County Circuit Clerk
H. C. BAILEY
Realtor and Insurance Executive

JOHN CORBETT BATTAILE
Retired State Official

JOHN C. BATTE, SR.

Furniture Store Owner; Insurance Executive;
Former Chairman, Jackson School Board

FRED L. BEARD

Television and Radio Station Manager
C. S. BENNETT

Retired Steel Executive
BOYCE H. BIGGERS

BOYCE H. BIGGERS
Civil Engineer
ALVIN BRENT

Drug Chain Owner
JACK L. BROWN

Heavy Equipment Sales
REX I. BROWN

Utility Board Chairman; Past President, Jackson Chamber of Commerce
ROBERT BROWN

Superintendent, Miss. State School for the Deaf
W. M. BUIE

Insurance Executive; Chairman, Jackson School Board

JOE BULLOCK
Executive Director, Miss. Agricultural and Industrial Board

FRANK CABELL
Appliance Distributor
CURTIS CAINE, M. D.

Anesthesiologist
THOMAS F. CAMERON, JR.
Outdoor Advertising Manager

A. BOYD CAMPBELL

School Supplies and Office Equipment Distributor; Past President, Chamber of Commerce of
the United States; Past President, Jackson
Chamber of Commerce

RAY CANNADA

Planter and Merchant; Director, Pearl River
Valley Water Supply District; Member, State
Game and Fish Commission

ROBERT C. CANNADA

Attorney; Member, Miss. Agricultural and Industrial Board

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CICERO CARR

Restaurant Owner

M. LYLE CASHION, JR.

Oil Producer
ROBERT T. CATES, M.D.
Physician and Surgeon

EARL CHATHAM
Motel and Restaurant Owner
MIKE CHRISTOPHER

Secretary, Miss. Restaurant Assn.
W. T. CLARK

Roofing Company Owner
HARRY A. COLE
Manufacturer

MARVIN COLLUM

Bank Executive; Past President, Jackson Chamber of Commerce

A. S. COODY
Attorney; Retired State Official
LEWIS CULLEY

Real Estate and Investments
AL FRED DANIEL

Paint Store Owner
J. L. DANIELL
Secretary, Scottish Rite Bodies of Miss.

H. H. "SHINE" DAVIS

MENDELL DAVIS

Executive Vice-President, Jackson Chamber of
Commerce

RUSSELL DAVIS
Insurance Executive; Member, Miss. Legislature
HOWARD DEAR

Office Equipment Dealer
JOE T. DEHMER
Gasoline Distributor

NICHOLAS J. DENNERY
Restaurant Owner

JESSE DRAKE
Motel Owner; Electric Co. Owner

FRANK T. EDWARDS
Railroad Employee

TOM Q. ELLIS

Clerk, Miss. Supreme Court; Past General

Grand High Priest, Royal Arch Masons (one
of the world's highest-ranking Masons)

EARL EVANS, JR.

Secretary, Miss. Budget Commission; Former
President Pro-Tem, Miss. State Senate

ity Leaders Served am Dinner Committee In Jackson

R. B. EVERETT Insurance Executive

SAM S. FARRINGTON Investments

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I. PAUL FAULKNER Insurance Executive; Past President, Jackson Citizens' Council

F. M. FEATHERSTONE, JR. Utility Executive

U. GREY FLOWERS Attorney; Planter; Investments

RALPH FORD Executive Assistant to the Governor of Miss.

JAMES E. FOWLER

Automobile Dealer; Cement Co. Official F. EARL FYKE, JR., M.D.

Internal Medicine and Cardiology STEWART GAMMILL, JR. Hotel Owner; Investments

HOWARD W. GOBER Insurance Executive

GEORGE W. GODWIN, SR. Advertising Agency Owner

ELMORE D. GREAVE Farmer

ALVIN GRUBBS Hotel Manager

BAGBY HALL Automobile Dealer

LUCIAN HARVEY Construction Co. President

HENRY HEDERMAN Printing Co. Owner

THOMAS M. HEDERMAN, JR. Newspaper Editor

Manager, Miss. Memorial Stadium

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